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Issues of the Day.

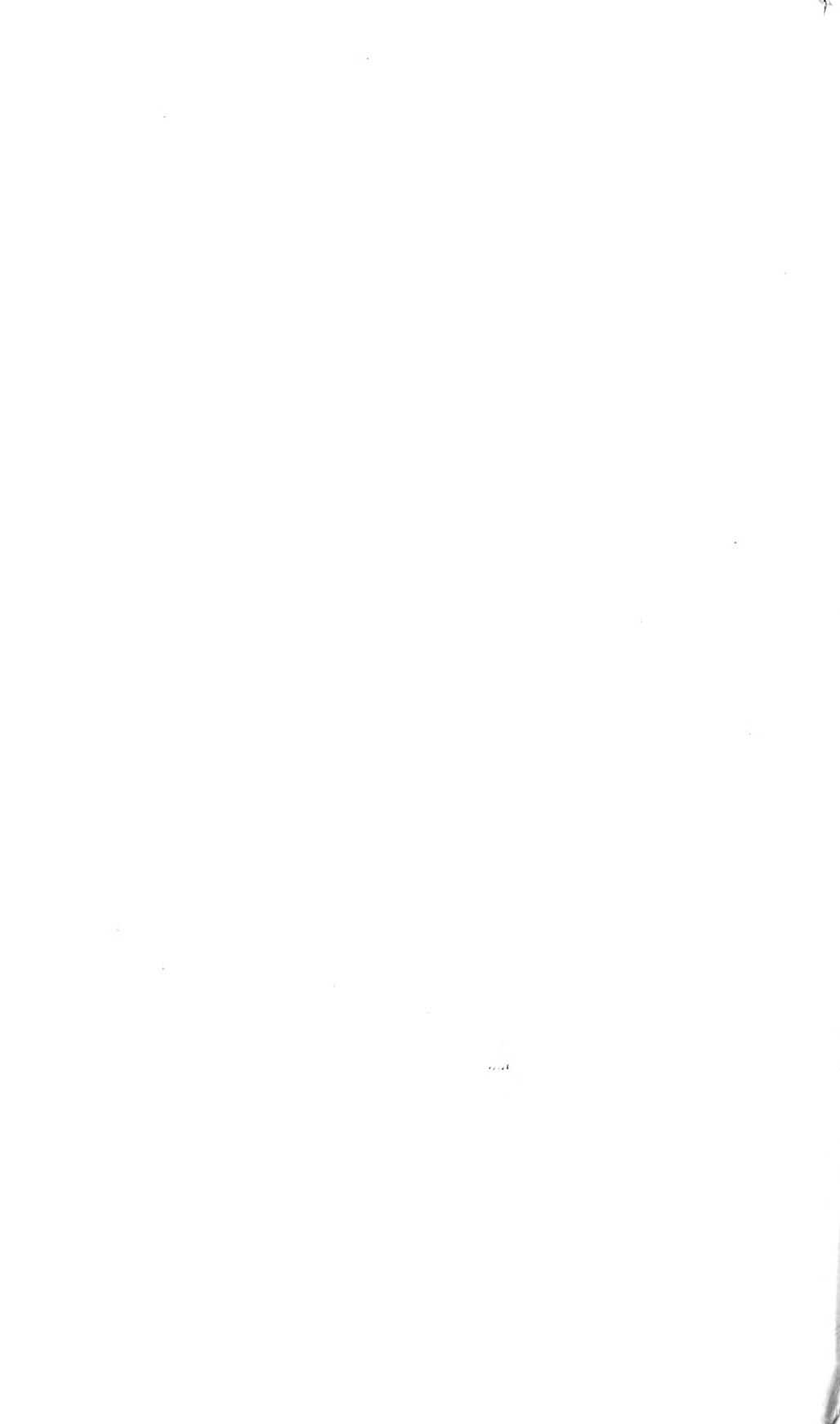
Speech of Hon. Roscoe
Conkling, July, 1872.





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78

ISSUES OF THE DAY



S P E E C H

OF

HON. ROSCOE CONKLING

OF NEW YORK,

DELIVERED AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK, JULY 23, 1872.

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[NOTE.—On account of the great length of Senator Conkling's speech it has been necessary to omit portions chiefly relating to New York State matters, national finances, and extracts from the New York Tribune, a large part of which has been published in other documents.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Your greeting of me to-night, and the warmth of your reception quite oppress me. I have not words fitly to express my feelings. It has been my privilege for twenty years, sometimes from this platform, to address my neighbors upon political issues, and too much ardor and too much of the partisan have always been among my many faults. Yet no canvass has ever stirred me like this. [Cheers.] No election has ever so appealed to my sense of fair play, no canvass has ever involved so much of injustice, malice and foul play, none has ever so thoroughly tested the common sense and generosity of the American people. [Cheers.]

INJUSTICE REAPED ON THE PRESIDENT.

Eleven years' service in Congress has made me a close observer of four Presidents and of many public men; and if among them all there is one, living or dead, who never knowingly failed in his duty, that one is Ulysses S. Grant. If there has been a high official ever ready to admit and correct an error—if there has been one who did wisely, firmly, and well the things given him in charge, that one is the soldier in war and the quiet patriot in peace, who has been named again by every township in forty-six States and Territories for the great trust he now holds. Yet this man, honest, brave, and modest, and proved by his transcendent deeds to be endowed with genius, common sense, and moral qualities adequate to the greatest affairs; this man who saved his country, who snatched our nationality and our cause from despair, and bore them on his shield through the flame of battle, in which, but for him, they would have perished; this man, under whose administration our country has flourished as no one dared predict; this man, to whom a nation's gratitude and benediction are due, is made the mark for ribald jests and odious groundless slanders. Why is all this? Simply because he stands in the way of the greed and ambition of politicians and schemers. Many honest men join in the cry, or hear it without indignation. They

are deceived by the cloud of calumny which darkens the sky; but the inventors are men distempered with griefs, or else the sordid and the vile, who follow politics as the shark follows the ship. A war of mud and missiles has been waged for months. The President, his family, and all nearly associated with him, have been bespattered, and truth and decency have been driven far away. Every thief and cormorant and drone who has been put out—every baffled mouse for place and plunder—every man with a grievance or a grudge—all who have something to make or to change, seem to wag an unbridled tongue or to drive a foul pen.

WHERE THE OPPPOSITION HAS BLUNDERED.

The American people may misjudge a political question, they may be deceived, but, with the truth before them, they will never be unjust, and never untrue upon a question of right and wrong. Fugititiae has been charged upon Republicans, and just there is the point where the angry enemies of the President have blundered. Had the cool veterans of the Democracy formed or selected the issues to be presented, they would have been wise enough to so frame them that the people could decide in their favor without fixing a stigma upon General Grant, and without blasting his name or doing him wrong. But the Democratic statesmen, the leaders in a hundred fights, have been mere lookers-on; leadership has been assumed by Republican renegades, and "out" men so eaten up with envy, or so maddened with the loss or refusal of place and patronage, that nothing would satisfy them short of a rancorous, revengeful, personal raid. When a man turns Turk he spits on the Cross, and when wide-throated Ultra-Republicans clandestinely trade with the enemy, and then turn open traitors to their party, they become the meanest and fiercest opponents, just as a Yankee slave overseer from New England was always more brutal than those born in the South. When men whose vanity was hurt, and others gnawed by ambition and cupidity, went out to ruin the party which they could



not rule, madness drove them on. They had no polar star, except hatred of Grant and his supporters. These lusty patriots, who modestly assumed the name of "Reformers," would not have an ordinary Presidential canvass for the fair discussion of political questions; such a proceeding would have been too tame and insipid for them. Their stomachs craved stronger, more game-flavored meat; hard names must be called; vengeance must be satisfied; the President must be politically court-martialed or dragged before a national assize to be tried as a malefactor.

In the Senate the Democrats proper kept silent or talked about business; I give them credit for wasting but little time; but half the last session, eight months in length, was worn out and wasted by slanderous electioneering harangues aimed at the Administration and its friends by men badly in need of being reformed themselves. These self-righteons and noisy oracles pitched the key in which the anti-Grant chorus was to be sung, and hence comes the absence of political questions and the presence of personal and scandalous issues. The public journals and newspaper correspondence from Washington controlled by these "Liberals"—liberal in nothing so much as in defaming honest men and praising and helping themselves—took him from the heart-burnings, distempers, and ambitions which set them on. "Anything to beat Grant" was the motto, and it gratified their heat and spite to assail the President personally, and to heap malignant charges upon him; thus his character, his integrity, his standing as a man have been put in issue, and the people are compelled to pass upon his guilt or innocence. The case has been so put that the question is not merely whether Grant shall be President, but whether Grant shall be pronounced by the nation a fool, a knave, an impostor, an enemy of his country. Had issues been taken upon public measures; had public questions been raised, whether new questions or those which have divided parties heretofore, a popular verdict would have been a verdict only between parties and policies and principles. Such a verdict would have rested upon public grounds, personal and disparaging to no one. In that case General Grant could not complain. If the political views he represents are not those of a majority there is no injustice and no reflection upon any one in so saying and so voting. But when the President is arraigned for ignorance, dishonesty, and vice, and for nothing else, the case is different.

What is the arraignment? What political position held by the Republican party or its candidates does the "any-thing-to-beat-Grant" coalition deny? Will any one tell me? Read the manifesto put forth at Cincinnati, which Mr. Greeley did over in improved words, as he thought, in his letter of acceptance. Read the address lately published by Mr. Greeley and his committee, soliciting the votes of the people of this State. These papers, in so far as they refer to the Administration, are a gross personal libel upon the President, and they are nothing more.

THE CINCINNATI PLATFORM ANALYZED.

The tariff resolution at Cincinnati is a mere juggle—a shallow evasion, by which no one of common intelligence has a right to be cheated.

The resolution about Congress and "centralism," if they mean anything, refer to the exercise of powers by Congress every one of which Mr. Greeley approved and demanded in his usual violent and unmeasured language.

The amnesty resolution is spent, because a general amnesty bill was passed weeks ago. Every rebel votes, and every rebel may hold office now, except Jefferson Davis and less than two hundred others, who still spurn forgiveness.

Where, then, is the political issue the people are to pass upon? It can not be "civil service reform," unless dishonesty is imputed to the President. He is for civil service reform, he recommended it and inaugurated it, and the Philadelphia Convention specially declared for it. There can be no issue of that kind, except by pretending that Grant is a hypocrite, and that Greeley is not; and neither of these things would be easy to prove. Mr. Greeley has plainly and repeatedly avowed, in public and in private, that his political action hinges on patronage and spoils; without stopping to prove this now, I will recur to it hereafter.

The coalition presents nothing of substance, on which parties or individuals are divided in principle, but only assaults on the President.

This is nothing more or less than a challenge of comparison between the candidates.

The issue is narrowed to a single inquiry. Which is personally the safest, fittest man for the Presidency?

DEMOCRACY GIVES UP—WHAT IS ASKED OF DEMOCRATS.

Some things, however, are said and done effectually by the platform and nomination of our opponents. They blot out and renounce the time-honored creed of the Democratic party. That creed is laid aside and its vital points repudiated.

It is fairly admitted that Democratic doctrines and Democratic candidates can not stand before the judgment of the country.

The Democracy confesses its defeat upon the great issues of the century, and confesses its error also. Equality of race; emancipation of slaves; the ballot for the blacks; a protective tariff; exemption of Government bonds from taxation; paying bonds in coin. Upon these and other things the Democracy at last confesses itself not only beaten but wrong, and the Republican party victorious and right. Stopping here, the homage paid to the Republican party would be great indeed, but we find greater tribute and homage still.

Not only are the old grounds of difference given up, but no new ones can be found. What measure or doctrine of the Republican party, again I ask, have our opponents ventured to attack?

The Republican party has been in power

for years, responsible for all legislation in the greatest era of the nation, and now its life long rival and adversary at last throws up the sponge, not daring to join issue upon one political question.

Even the Ku Klux and election bills are not matters in difference, for Mr. Greeley supported them both with all his virulent vocabulary. My own part in preparing and pressing the election law was, I remember, the occasion of my being praised in the *Tribune*.

The only instance of alleged "centralism" being measures to which Mr. Greeley stands fully committed, the candidate and the platform together leave not a shred of anything Democratic. As if to abjure the last vestige of Democracy and wipe out its very memory, these vaulting managers have selected as their figure-head a professed ultra Republican, formerly an ultra Whig, and they ask honest Democrats to vote for him, against a man born and bred a Democrat, who never acted with the Republican party till after the war had raised new issues, which Democrats divided. Democrats are asked to vote for that Republican who "out-Heroded Herod" always in politics and abuse, and who did more than any other man in the North to encourage secession and bring on the war. A Republican, coming from the Whig party with such a record, now asks the votes of Democrats.

WHY SHOULD DEMOCRATS VOTE FOR GREELEY?

Upon what ground will patriotic Democrats prefer Greeley to Grant? They must prefer Greeley because they disapprove Grant personally, or else because they disapprove some political doctrine he represents.

Are Democrats for repudiating the debt? Are they for agitating or annulling the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution? Would they re-establish slavery? Would they pay the rebel war debt, or pensions to rebel soldiers, or rebel war claims? Would they inflate the currency again and flood the country with paper money? Are Democrats against reducing taxes and expenses? Are Democrats opposed to peace with all nations and stable government at home? These questions are not asked to impugn the position of any man, but for the opposite reason.

General Grant being tried and true in all these things, why should any Union man, or Conservative man, or business man, or patriot, vote against him, even if his competitor was a safe and fit man for President? Plainly there can be no reason, unless Grant is unworthy of confidence or respect, and deserves to be found guilty of the crimes and vices alleged against him. To judge this question we must examine his history and lay bare his life. "The tree is known by its fruit," the carpenter by his chips, the man by his deeds.

GRANT'S EDUCATION.

Grant can not be illiterate, or, as a Greeley orator told an audience the other day, "ignorant of what schoolboys know."

He was educated at West Point, and who-

ever graduates in that exacting school must have an education such as few Americans receive. Mental culture is not all we find in Grant at West Point. His letters written then stamp him with character enough by itself to refute the worn and soiled scandal which now offends the nostrils of the nation.

* * * * *

From West Point he went to act a subordinate part in the Mexican war. He acted it bravely, modestly, and well. The Mexican war being over, his pay in the regular army would have gone on, and he might have lived in peace and idleness at the public cost, but, unwilling to be a drone, he became a tanner.

THE "TANNER OF GALENA."—WHAT HE TANNED.

Mr. Sumner withers him by reminding us that "he tanned hides at Galena for a few hundred dollars a year." He did not masquerade as a wood-chopper; he did not figure in pictorials as a farmer; he did not go round telling "what he knew about" anything that he didn't understand himself; he minded his own business, and let other people's business alone; but he worked with his hands as a hewer of wood, which he sold in the market, and wrought out a living for his family and himself.

From the breaking out of the rebellion, his career is a "thrice told tale"—the world knows it by heart. When the flag sank at Sumter, he did not wait to be called. Without commission, command, uniform or shoulder-straps, he started for the field, and grasping the Stars and Stripes, and carried them through a blaze of victories such as no mortal before him had won.

While Senators who now hawk at him were lolling for a fourth term on cushions, and eviscerating encyclopedias, books of quotations, and classical dictionaries, the tanner of Galena swept rebellion from the valley of the Mississippi, and the father of waters went un vexed to the sea.

Lincoln and Stanton, who reposed unmeasured confidence in him, called him at once from the victorious fields of the West to the department of the Potomac, that Golgotha, where army after army, the very flower of the nation, had melted away. He came to the wilderness of Virginia, when that traitorous Commonwealth had become the rendezvous of the allied armies of rebellion, and when the rebel chiefs were boasting that in the fastnesses of the Blue Ridge they could defy the world in arms. He marched from Washington, and he measured no backward step until he set his foot upon the shattered fragiments of the greatest military power an invading army ever overthrew. He solved the problem which had baffled all others, and preserved a nationality after the world thought it gone down.

How stood he then? The nation leaned and reposed upon him, and blessed him. Both hemispheres gazed at him as the prodigy and wonder of the age.

The Democrats sought his consent to nominate him for the Presidency without platform or pledge, but he declined. His integrity taught him that when a party chooses a can-

didate from the other side somebody is to be elected; and by Grant's consent, no one ever was or ever will be cheated.

But the Democratic managers adored him, and saw him only resplendent with greatness and with virtues. He was not unfit for President then; he was the fittest of all his countrymen. He did not become unfit until three years' experience had ripened and enlarged his knowledge. He did not become unfit while the patronage held out, and while unclean fingers were allowed to fumble it.

WHAT THE NEW YORK "WORLD" SAID.

"Apply to General Grant what test you will; in assure him by the magnitude of the obstacles he has surmounted, by the value of the positions he has gained, by the faine of the antagonist over whom he has triumphed, by the achievements of his most illustrious co-workers, by the sureness with which he directs his indomitable energy to the vital point which is the key of a vast field of operation, or by that supreme test of consummate ability, the absolute completeness of his results, and he vindicates his claim to stand next after Napoleon and Wellington among the great soldiers of this country, if not on a level with the latter."

WHAT HORACE GREELEY SAID.

"Grant and his policy deserved the very highest credit.

"The people of the United States know General Grant—have known all about him since Donelson and Vicksburg; they do not know his slanderers, and do not care to know them.

"While asserting the right of every Republic to his unframed choice of a candidate for next President until a nomination is made, I venture to suggest that General Grant will be far better qualified for that momentous trust in 1872 than he was in 1868.

"We are led by him who first taught our armies to conquer in the West, and subsequently in the East also. Richmond would not come to us until we sent Grant after it, and then it had to come. He has never yet been defeated, and never will be. He will be as great and successful on the field of politics as on that of arms.

"Yes; General Grant has failed to gratify some eager aspirations, and has thereby incurred some intense hatreds. These do not and will not fail; and his Administration will prove at least equally vital. We shall hear lamentation after lamentation over his failures from those whose wish is father to the thought; but the American people let them pass unheeded. Their strong arm bore him triumphantly through the war and into the White House, and they still uphold and sustain him; and they never failed and never will."

In September, 1871, Mr. Greeley wrote, and sent to the Republican State Convention for adoption, these resolutions:

"1. In this alarming crisis in city and State affairs, the Republican party refers all good citizens to its record, as their warrant for

giving it their fullest confidence and support in this campaign, now formally opening, of the honest men against the thieves:

"It abolished slavery.

"It led in the suppression of the rebellion.

"It preserved and enlarged the Union.

"It promptly reduced the enormous forces thus required for a peace footing.

"It has reduced the debt over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars in the last three years.

"It has simultaneously reduced public taxation over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars per annum.

"It has preserved peace on the border.

"It has won a friendly adjustment of the threatening troubles with Great Britain.

"III. *For its conspicuous share in this beneficent work we indorse the National Republican Administration.*"

These resolutions were written only a little while ago, and all the slanders to this day invented against the President had long been current then.

"GIFT-TAKING."

But let us go back a moment to Grant before he seriously thought of being President, and when he was only the idol of the nation. Returning from the field, covered with glory, but poor in money, the affluent, whose fortunes he had saved, met him with magnificent offerings. In this they followed the customs of an ancient and modern times.

The austere republics of antiquity, enriched and ennobled their heroes returning from victory. England, with an unwritten constitution and an omnipotent Parliament, which a lawyer once said "could do anything but make a man a woman," has enriched her generals both by acts of Parliament and by voluntary subscriptions.

In the United States the Constitution does not permit Congress to act in such matters; here they rest wholly in the voluntary action of individuals, and that public presentations to heroes involved turpitude in givers or recipients has been first found out by the spurious reformers and libelers now clamoring for notice.

Wellington received from his Government and his neighbors more than \$3,300,000. British citizens of Calcutta made him presents, the officers of the army gave him \$10,000, the House of Commons voted him \$1,000,000, and a mansion and estate were purchased for him by subscription at a cost of \$1,300,000. Besides this, he was three times ennobled, twice by England and once by Spain.

Oliver Cromwell, for deeds done in civil war, received \$32,500 a year in gifts. Marlborough was given a stately palace and a splendid fortune. Nelson and his family were ennobled, and received \$75,000. Jewels and money were given to Fairfax for services in civil war.

The generals and admirals of England and France have generally been recipients of great pecuniary benefits. In England and elsewhere the customs of presents to public men has gone beyond the army and the navy.

Richard Cobden, a civilian, in token of political service only, was given by subscription \$350,000. John Bright has just received costly gifts.

America, younger and poorer, with few wars to breed heroes, has been less lavish than older nations; but Americans have not been stingy. General McClellan, perhaps, begins the list of largely-rewarded Generals. His active service ended before the war was over, and his Democratic admirers, prior to nominating him for the Presidency, presented him a costly house and a large purse, amounting in all to a hundred thousand dollars.

To Sherman, Sheridan, Farragut, and Grant, large sums were given. To Stanton's family, and to Rawlins, were given more than a hundred thousand each. Were these things dishonorable? Was it wrong for General Grant to accept such gifts? The charge is an insult to the nation who witnessed and applauded the proceeding; it is an imputation upon those who gave, as much as upon him who received. It can not have been dishonorable or improper for him to accept a gift, without it being dishonorable and improper to offer it.

How must the cant and snivel we hear seem to the people of Germany just now? Bismarck, though Chancellor and Prime Minister, has just received, as a gift, in token of his services in the recent war, a magnificent landed estate, worth more than was given to all our generals; and Bismarck, in like token, has been made a prince. General Von Moltke, for his services in the German-Franco war, has been given \$300,000; and Germany has set apart, from the French indemnity fund, four million dollars, to be distributed in gifts to her heroes. Do you believe any German, or any man with a German heart in his bosom, will ever be mean enough to throw these gifts in the face of those who earned and accepted them? Yet gift-taking, forsooth, is paraded by political Pharisees. The charge that Grant accepted any gift after he became President, or after he was nominated, is wholly false. He has accepted nothing of value since his first nomination—not even a carriage and horses—although Lincoln, and Buchanan, and Pierce, and Taylor, and other Presidents, did accept carriages and horses after their election.

"GIFT-BEARING GREEKS."

But it is said that men who subscribed to gifts have been appointed to office, and the insinuation is that they were appointed because they subscribed to gifts.

The fact that hundreds who gave have never been appointed to anything would of itself seem to disprove the charge that official patronage has been used to repay gifts. Only three—or at most, four—contributors to the funds raised for General Grant have ever been offered appointments, and it would seem far-fetched to explain the selection of three for a reason applying to more than three hundred who were never selected at all. But the facts answer the charge.

MR. A. T. STEWART AND MR. BORIE.

A. T. Stewart subscribed to the Grant

fund, so did every leading man in the city of New York who then supported the war and the Republican party. No man on Manhattan Island who would have been thought of for the Cabinet refused to subscribe. A man of wealth and prominence belonging to the Union party at that time, who had refused to share in an offering to a Union general, would have been as mean and as marked as a member of a church who should refuse to pay his part to the minister. The call was general, and for the wealthy who had supported the war to give was a matter of course. When General Grant became President, had he not been for his Cabinet E. D. Morgan, George Opdyke, Jackson S. Schnitz, William E. Dodge, Henry Clews, or any other leading merchant or banker who supported him, it would have turned out that he too was a "gift-bearing Greek."

The same thing is true of Mr. Borie, of Philadelphia, the late Secretary of the Navy. These Cabinet Ministers were selected for two reasons: First, their supposed fitness; and second, because they were not "politicians." Mr. Stewart's success and mastership of the details of a varied and immense business convinced the President that he might render great service as Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Borie, a retired merchant and importer and shipper and shipowner, was believed to have large experience and knowledge applicable to the Navy Department.

The facts by themselves might not have caused these two selections, because other men might have been found qualified, and at the same time known in political affairs.

THE NEW YORK "TRIBUNE" AT THE BOTTOM OF IT.

The New York *Tribune*, and the newspapers which followed it, or chimed in with it, had more to do than all else with bringing about the nomination of Mr. Stewart and Mr. Borie, and of others unknown in public affairs.

The *Tribune* had vociferated against "politicians," it had conjured the President to avoid "politicians," and had proclaimed again and again that the country had a right to expect of General Grant that "politicians" would not be put in high places, but that new men would be brought in. Listening to this hollow bluster, echoed in many public journals, the President was misled as to the popular judgment.

His own wisdom taught him that if you want a lawyer you should select a man who has proved himself a lawyer; that if you want a doctor, you had better take one who has been tried, and so if you want an agent to manage public affairs, you had better take a man experienced in such affairs. But Mr. Greeley insisted that a Cabinet should be chosen upon the principle on which he is trying to be President, viz: passing over all the men whom you know to be fit, and taking a man at a venture with no reason to believe him fit. Indeed, Mr. Greeley once told the President that, in his opinion, offices should never be given to the men who could take care of themselves, but should be kept

for those who couldn't make a living in any other way. Much has been said about President Grant's choice of his Cabinet, but those who know his inside history know that the very men who are now hounding the President warmly approved of the persons named, especially of Mr. Stewart.

THE PRESIDENT'S RICHES.

The "Liberal" idea of decency and manly war, forces me to speak of another thing, which will grate upon our ears. The political scavengers pretend that the President has grown rich, as President, by illicit gain, and they parade his property by millions. We have fallen on sorry times, when the Chief Magistrate of the country, with a fame so great and pure, must give an account of his private property in answer to electioneering falsehoods. The President would disdain to do it; I have no authority to do it; I do not assume to do it on his behalf; but on behalf of the party and the cause he represents I venture to state the facts.

At Galena, where he "tanned hides," he owned a house, and during the war he invested the savings from his pay in some lots in Chicago, and in some shares of street railway stock.

Mrs. Grant inherited her share of her father's farm in Missouri, and they bought out the other heirs with a portion of the hundred thousand dollars presented by citizens of New York. This one hundred thousand dollars also paid for a house in Washington, which was subsequently sold to General Sherman, and a cottage and grounds were bought at Long Branch, after the Washington house was sold. The people of Philadelphia presented a house, which rents for about two thousand dollars a year. This completes the property of the President, with one exception.

Some years ago he purchased ten thousand dollars, in nominal value, of the stock of the Seneca Stone Company; to this day it has paid nothing, partly because the President has interfered to prevent Seneca stone being adopted as building material for the Government. One of the plans submitted for the new State Department required the use of Seneca stone, and, because of his being a stockholder, the President refused to allow the plan to be even considered. The other stockholders complained of this, saying they were punished because the President owned stock; the President replied, expressing his regret, and saying that he would sell his stock or give it away, but for imputations cast upon him by political opponents because of his ownership, but he deemed it unsuitable even to seem to defer to such calumny by parting with his stock.

Here, then, is the sum total of the President's possessions. Every dollar he owns came from sources open as the day, and every month of his Presidency has made him poorer than the month before; and yet the country and Congress are disgraced by imbecilities and poisonous hints that vast wealth has been amassed in the Presidential office.

GRANT NO MONEY-MAKER AND NO OFFICE-SEEKER.

Had wealth gained in office been Grant's aim, he would never have been President. As general of the army, he stood the foremost man of all the earth. His pay was for life, and was nearly, if not quite, as great annually as the Presidential salary. In money value and moneymaking opportunity, as well as in ease and freedom, his position then was immeasurably better than the Presidency for four years or eight. We know the Presidency sought him, and not he the Presidency; but had avarice been his thought, he would have refused the Presidency and kept the life-place of general.

The Presidential salary has not lured him now. We hear of "his pretensions," and of his "insisting upon being a candidate;" yet first and last, he *never* made himself a candidate, and never, to my knowledge, has he expressed a wish to be reelected. So far from it, that for more than a year his friends were uneasy with solicitude lest he should withhold absolutely the use of his name.

In place of dividing or hazarding the Republican party by seeking a renomination, he never consented to stand a second time, until he was assured on every hand that the party demanded him, as the only man who could not be beaten; and my firm conviction is, that had no aspersion been cast upon him, he would personally gladly be mustered out.

More than a year ago, expressing to me privately his earnest wish to leave public toil, he said that at West Point he counted the days, the hours, and even the minutes to elapse, before he should be graduated, and that, with a like eagerness, he counted the time that would complete his Presidential service; and often, before vindictive injustice had roused him to resistance, those who knew him best, and among them the ablest and purest members of the Senate, continually expressed solicitude lest he should refuse to run again, and leave the party distracted by rivalries and with no candidate so strong.

But when the shower of mud and the beating of gongs and the foul-mouthed uproar burst upon him, all felt that we were safe. Grant never scares well at all, and is never driven when courage can make a stand; and the two debts the Republican party owes to the deserters who have attempted to betray it are, first, that they have cleansed and reformed the party by leaving it; and, second, that they have insured it a candidate who, in the words of Horace Greeley, "never has been defeated, and never will be."

Then came the next effort to throw dust in the people's eyes. The New York *Tribune*, and other journals, which for a year had been doing the worse than menial offices of the Democratic party, raised a yell that "the office-holders were going to renominate Grant." This bald talk had its run until the Philadelphia Convention met. It then turned out that, among seven hundred and fifty delegates, there were not thirty office-holders, a thing unexampled in American politics. No national convention of the party in power

ever met before, in which men holding official station were not largely present.

PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION—HENRY WILSON.

The roll-call in the National Convention was answered by a chorus of States, and with a unanimity and a spirit which made the convention the most remarkable ever held, and the indorsement the most flattering and pronounced ever given to a candidate. The announced wish of Mr. Colfax to withdraw from public life, left the convention without unity of sentiment as to the second place on the *ticket*; and the choice fell upon the man whom Mr. Wade has well described "as the incarnation of American citizenship."

Born a child of poverty and toil, the Natick Cobbler during a long life of purity and public service, had won a place in the respect and good will of his countrymen, which made it fit that the second office in the Republic should be held by Henry Wilson. Without the contrast between his colleague and himself, the prize might not have fallen to him. But the inexcusable conduct of Mr. Sumner led the Convention to prefer Mr. Wilson for Vice President, for his own great merit, and also because his nomination would record a national judgment against the pretension that the party belongs to any man, or is subject to the whim or dictation of any knot of men, however petted in the past. Mr. Wilson has been a Senator many years, a Senator during General Grant's whole military and civil service. He has at all times upheld Republican measures, and therefore is answerable, as he wishes to be, for the acts of the party and the policy of the Administration. The objections to either candidate apply to both, and can be argued together.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND OTHERS ALSO SLANDERED.

Never before did a political party plant itself upon personalities and scandal, and upon nothing else. George Washington was visited with loathsome abuse by his political opponents.

The convention which nominated Polk hung out from the balcony a full-length daub of Henry Clay, bespattered with blood, holding a pistol in one hand and a pack of cards in the other.

These were revolting, indeed, but there is one marked difference between the scandals hurtled at Washington, Jackson, Clay, Lincoln, and others, and those now flung at Grant.

Of the public measures, the political policy, these other Presidents, was in each case opposed and criticised, and the sting of personal calumny was used as a spur to the main contest. Now personal abuse is the Alpha and Omega on one side. John Quincy Adams was besmeared with rancorous suspicion on account of his appointments to office, as his father had been for appointing relatives to office, but issue at the same time was always made upon grave political questions.

What political policy of Grant or his Administration does the opposition assail? What part of the present policy do they propose to reverse or alter? What part dare they avow or admit they mean to change? Lay your finger on it if you can. Hard words you can find; vague, cloudy, sweeping denunciations; but take up, one by one, the important positions and measures of the Administration, and except the San Domingo treaty, if that be an exception, where is the specific thing upon which issue is made?

Let me state the case in another form. Suppose all the slurs and flings and vile gossip against Grant are true—suppose you admit the whole of them—what do they signify? Suppose he has appointed a dozen relatives to office; suppose he has failed to appreciate the claims of certain politicians; suppose presents had been given him after he was President; suppose the idea of making A. T. Stewart Secretary of the Treasury was as foolish as every reformer says it was now; suppose that there was no express law authorizing two young military friends to write in his office and carry his messages. Put it all together, and what of it?

If you want a man to pilot a ship, or lead an army, or try a cause, or build a house, or set a broken arm, or run a locomotive, what do you care, so long as he does his work well, whether he is fond of his relatives, or doesn't like certain politicians, or has subjected himself to envious sneers by having presents given to him? All these things are aside from the purpose. "They are titting, mint, anise, and cummin." Has he made a good President? That is the question.

SAN DOMINGO.

Let us examine the evidence, and, first of all, let us take up the charges and evidence against him. The San Domingo Treaty, unlike going to Long Branch, or smoking a cigar, or riding in a palace car, was a matter of public business, and is, therefore, a topic not despicable or unworthy. His guilt and his innocence in this respect can all be briefly stated.

The Monroe doctrine is one of the traditions of the country, and of both political parties. The Monroe doctrine means opposition to acquisitions on this continent by European powers. When President Grant came in no such question was pending, but such a question soon arose. An agent from the Dominican republic presented himself to the President, saying that the people of Dominica, few in numbers, but rich in one of the most fertile isles of any sea, lying close to our shores, waited to come under the American flag; and that failing to do so they would look to a European alliance. The President made no reply, and afterward a second envoy appeared, repeating these statements, with glowing accounts of the fertility and resources of the Island of San Domingo.

General McClellan, Admiral Porter, Commissioner Hogan, and others had previously examined and reported upon the Island, and

had strongly stated its advantages as a coaling station, a naval station, a military key to the Gulf of Mexico, and as an area prolific in coffee, sugar-cane, rice, dye-stuff, mahogany, and other valuable woods, and in other products of the tropics, besides iron, copper, gold, and salt.

With this information before him the President could not turn a deaf ear and a closed eye to so grave a matter. He caused two or three discreet persons to go, unexpected and unobserved, to San Domingo, learn all they could, and make report. This being done, the President was convinced that the matter should be entertained, but in the form of a treaty, and submitted to the judgment of the Senate and the country.

THE PRESIDENT CALLS ON MR. SUMNER--A QUESTION OF VERACITY.

A treaty was proposed and reduced to writing, and the President, with none of the "pretension" which Mr. Sumner imagines, paid Mr. Sumner the deference of going to his house, in place of sending for him to confer with him as chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and to ascertain whether he favored the treaty, and would support it. The interview took place in the presence of two witnesses, General Babcock and Colonel John W. Forney.

These two witnesses, in addition to the President, affirm Mr. Sumner distinctly declared himself in favor of the treaty, and stated that he should support it.

Colonel Forney testifies as follows:

"I was present at Mr. Sumner's residence when President Grant called and explained the Dominican treaty to the Senator, and although I can not recall the exact words of the latter, I understood him to say that he would most cheerfully support the treaty. At the President's request, I remained to hear his explanation, and am free to add, that such is my deep regard for Mr. Sumner, that his indorsement of the treaty went very far to stimulate me in giving it my own support. I have already said this much to Mr. Sumner, who, however, claims that other information since obtained has shaped his present action."

"JOHN W. FORNEY."

This statement is true or else wilfully false; because although Forney might have misunderstood Mr. Sumner at the time, he can not be mistaken in the fact that Mr. Sumner afterward admitted that he had changed his mind. General Babcock certifies in writing that after the interview with the President he and Mr. Sumner read and examined the treaty carefully together; and that at the close of the interview Mr. Sumner said, "That he could not think of doing otherwise than supporting the Administration in the matter;" and further, "that there was no objection to the instrument as a whole."

Yet Mr. Sumner, having meanwhile taken offense because his views and wishes in other matters were not deferred to, became incensed at the President and Mr. Fish, denounced them, and among other things the San Domingo treaty, and raising an issue of

veracity with three witnesses, denied that he ever intimated that he would give the treaty his support.

His version of the interview with the President is, that the President came to his house and was proceeding to unfold the San Domingo matter, when he (Sumner) broke in with the subject of an appointment in which he was interested; and that when the President returned to the treaty he (Sumner) evaded the point altogether by a studied ambiguity. Here are Mr. Sumner's words, delivered to the Senate: "He (the President) proceeded with an explanation which I very soon interrupted, saying, by the way, Mr. President, it is very hard to turn out Governor Ashley; I have just received a letter from the Governor, and I hope I shall not take too great a liberty, Mr. President, if I read it. I find it excellent and eloquent, and written with a feeling which interests me much. I commenced the letter and read two pages or more, when I thought the President was uneasy, and I felt that I was taking too great a liberty with him in my own house, but I was irresistibly impelled by loyalty to an absent friend, while I was glad of this opportunity of diverting attention from the treaty. As conversation about Governor Ashley subsided the President returned to the treaty, leaving on my mind no very strong idea of what they proposed, and nothing with regard to the character of the negotiations. My reply was precise. The language is fixed absolutely in my memory.

"'Mr. President,' I said, 'I am an Administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consideration.' * * * My language, I repeat, was precise, well considered, and chosen in advance: 'I am an Administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consideration.'"

Mr. Sumner did not deny that the President acted from a belief that he approved the treaty, nor did he deny that he left the President so to act, without ever informing him that he had changed his mind, or been misunderstood. Yet Mr. Sumner in the Senate assailed the President personally and bitterly; and in a published interview in Chicago with Major Chamberlain, a man of character and veracity, who had been a Union officer, and was then connected with the press, Mr. Sumner charged the President with venality and robbery in the San Domingo treaty.

In consequence of these, and other like occurrences, it was proposed to send three Commissioners to San Domingo, at no cost beyond their expenses, to investigate and clear up the whole matter, and to ascertain whether, as Mr. Sumner had charged, lots in San Domingo had been staked off and marked with the names of the President and others.

This inquiry seemed fair to most of those who opposed and to those who favored the treaty, but Mr. Sumner resisted the inquiry inch by inch, and after a majority of the Foreign Relations Committee had joined him in denouncing it, he insisted that it should be referred to that committee.

The same familiar parliamentary maxim about putting a "child to nurse with those who care not for it," upon which he rung the changes so often in the French Arms affair, was quoted to him in vain. When the sale of arms was to be inquired into, Mr. Sumner slandered the Senate for appointing a committee all in favor of investigating, because the committee was not biased in favor of convicting somebody, but the San Domingo inquiry he insisted should go to a committee, of which a majority had declared in advance against any inquiry at all.

At the end of a protracted and stubborn contest, Congress authorized a commission to be sent; not, however, till Mr. Sumner had denounced the President for not taking it upon himself, of his own authority, to send a commission without asking permission of Congress. Now we hear from Mr. Sumner, not that the President shrinks from his prerogatives, but that he arrogantly oversteps them.

Mr. Wade, Dr. Howe, of Boston, and President Andrew D. White were selected as commissioners. They visited San Domingo, and made a report which few of the American people have read, but which will be read when the din and passion of to-day are forgotten. The report explodes utterly every calumnious pretense, and presents a statement which leaves no room to doubt the duty of the President to consider as he did the acquisition of San Domingo, and to urge it upon the attention of the Senate and the country.

HOW THE PRESIDENT SHAMED HIS ACCUSERS.

In transmitting this report to Congress the President did his last act in the matter. With the report he sent a message, to which a Minister from one of the first Powers of the earth, told me he called the attention of his Government, as one of the most remarkable State papers of which he had knowledge. In that message stand these words:

"The mere rejection by the Senate of a treaty negotiated by the President only indicates a difference of opinion between two co-ordinate departments of the Government without touching the character or wounding the pride of either. But when such rejection takes place simultaneously with charges, openly made, of corruption on the part of the President, or those employed by him, the case is different. In such case the honor of the nation demands investigation. This has been accomplished by the report of the Commissioners herewith transmitted, and which fully vindicates the purity of the motives and action of those who represented the United States in the negotiation. And now my task is finished, and with it ends all personal solicitude upon the subject."

"My duty being done, yours begins; and I gladly hand over the whole matter to the judgment of the American people, and of their Representatives in Congress assembled. The facts will now be spread before the country, and a decision rendered by that tribunal whose convictions so seldom err, and against whose will I have no policy to enforce. My opinions remain unchanged;

indeed, it is confirmed by the report, that the interests of our country and San Domingo alike invite the annexation of that Republic. In view of the differences of opinion upon this subject, I suggest that no action be taken at the present session beyond the printing and general dissemination of the report. Before the next session of Congress the people will have considered the subject, and formed an intelligent opinion concerning it, to which opinion, deliberately made up, it will be the duty of every department of the Government to give heed, and no one will more cheerfully conform to it than myself."

This was the utterance last year of the man whom we are told is swollen with "pretension" and "ungovernable personality."

Among the glaring absurdities heaped upon the San Domingo matter is the allegation that the war was made upon the Republic of Hayti. The foundation for this is that a vessel or two cruised in that part of the ocean during the negotiations. Not a gun was fired, nor a pocket pistol, nor a percussion cap, and the only warlike demonstration ever heard of was that a sea captain sent up a sky rocket from the deck of his vessel. The purpose of this sky rocket, or where the stick came down, has never been ascertained.

This, in brief, is the story of the San Domingo affair. I do not refer to it to champion the treaty or argue its merits; that is another matter. My purpose is to show you that the part acted by the President was the part of an honest, modest man, walking in the path of the Constitution and of his predecessors.

"REMOVAL" OF MR. SUMNER.

It may not be amiss here to allude to the effort to rouse indignation over the so-called "removal" of Mr. Sumner from the Committee of Foreign Relations. Mr. Sumner was never "removed" at all. All Senate committees die at the end of each session. All Senate committees are created anew at the beginning of each session. Mr. Sumner had been selected repeatedly for the chairmanship of the committee referred to, and the question was always, looking over the whole Senate, who would be the most useful, and, all things considered, the best man for the place. At the time in question, and for reasons easily stated, the Senate thought it would not be wise to select Mr. Sumner again for that committee, and he was selected for another. This was not done because Mr. Sumner opposed San Domingo, nor because he changed sides upon that question, nor because the President or the Secretary of State wanted, or did not want, Mr. Sumner on this committee or on that. The reasons were wholly different, they were reasons of the Senate alone, and reasons which have governed the formation of parliamentary committees everywhere since such committees were known. The Committee on Foreign Affairs, in either House of Congress, or in not only, like other committees, to represent the majority of the body, but, for peculiar reasons, it must be composed of men who

can and will consult freely with the President, the Secretary of State, and their assistants. This is especially true of the chairman, he being the organ of the committee.

Mr. Sumner not only wielded his position as chairman in opposition to the majority of the Senate upon several important questions, and boasted in the Senate that the committee could not be changed, but his conduct and language in public and in private had rendered it impossible for him to hold communication with those whom it was indispensable to confer with freely, and impossible for them to confer with him.

Men can not do business conveniently with those whom they denounce and insult continually, nor with those toward whom they assume offensive superiority, and the time came, with Mr. Sumner as chairman, when the Senate was left in ignorance, and business delayed for weeks, for lack of information from the State Department, merely because Mr. Sumner did not hold communication with it. The simple, indeed, the only cure for all this, was to select another chairman. This was done, and nothing more; and it turned out that treaties, six or seven in number, having long lain buried in the committee, after the change of chairman, were at once brought up and ratified.

I leave this matter after asking one question. Is there one man on this continent except Mr. Sumner who could with propriety have clung to a position after his associates who conferred it were unwilling he should retain it? Is there one other man who would have supposed that his being on this committee or on that would "jar the harmony of the universe?"

"NEPOTISM."

Let me go on with the charges against the President. Few of them figure more largely than appointing relatives to office. Mr. Sumner has staggered the nation by the weight of the dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other big books which he has dumped upon us to show what "nepotism" is.

From the morning of time common sense has distinguished between creating a useless and lucrative sinecure and bestowing it on a relative, and selecting a relative to do a service required to be done. When Hannibal and Frederick the Great and Napoleon and Emperor William put a brother or a son at the head of an army, with rank and titles, or even placed him on a throne, the world never thought it was like a sinecure for a Papal nephew.

On the contrary, in public and in private business, nothing has seemed more natural than for those intrusted with affairs to employ and associate with themselves persons in whom they most confided, whether relatives or not. In all such cases if the person be fit little harm can be done; but if he is unfit a great wrong is done, whether he be a relative or not. If the appointment of relatives be a crime, a great many men, including the busiest and most blatant "Liberals," must be great criminals. Andrew Johnson, his Cabinet and chief officers, must

have been huge offenders, for reasons which no one thought of at the time, though every one knew of them.

President Johnson's son was his chief private secretary. Governor Seward's son was Assistant Secretary of State. Edwin M. Stanton's son was a clerk in the War Department. Gideon Welles' son was Chief Clerk of the Navy Department; and when Gideon Welles employed a relative at a great remuneration to buy ships the scandal was not that he paid just sums to a relative, but that he paid such sums at all. Reverdy Johnson, Minister to England, made his son assistant secretary of legation. John A. Dix, Minister to France, did the same thing with his son. All this was under Andrew Johnson, but when a drag-net of criticism and impeachment was cast over him, these things were not caught up.

"LIBERAL" RELATIVES.

The rueful "Reformers" themselves will not bear examination on this point. Mr. Schurz pressed his brother-in-law on the President, and obtained for him a lucrative office, and when Mr. Trumbull caused his removal upon statements impeaching his fitness, Mr. Schurz raged against the President for removing his brother-in-law. Mr. Trumbull seems to have procured appointments for his brother-in-law, his sons, and his nephews, and he broke, it is said, with the President because he refused to appoint Mr. Trumbull's son to an office. That shrill and frisky "Reformer," Mr. Tipton, although not colossal himself, would need a hay-scales to be weighed along with all his relatives he has helped to get office. Three brothers-in-law, a nephew, and a son, in office, with other things for other relatives, did not satisfy his "liberal" inclinations, but he vigorously plied the President and Secretary of State to give a valuable consulship to another son, and after they declined he frequently avowed, once pipingly to the President himself, that the refusal was the cause of his opposition.

Mr. Fenton saw no objection to giving to his adopted son his influence for an office, nor to obtaining it from Tammany Hall, and keeping it, through all the exposures of Tweed and the rest, although no service was attached to it equivalent to the pay.

Mr. Sumner, with a brother-in-law in office under Andrew Johnson, was inflamed by his removal, and did not hesitate to make known his displeasure.

Even Mr. Greeley did not scruple to countenance his brother-in-law in obtaining the most lucrative collectorship of internal revenue in the United States. Nor has he hesitated to urge appointments, clearly unfit, on the ground of the intimate terms between himself and those he urged.

RELATIVES OF THE PRESIDENT.

But if General Grant has done wrong, the crime of others can not help him. Let us look into his case. You might suppose from the noise that he had used a relative as a peg for every hole in the country, and that he had put round pegs in square holes and square pegs in round holes everywhere. It

has been said that he has appointed fifty relatives, forty relatives, thirty relatives, and Mr. Sumner estimates thirteen relatives, to office. None of these statements are true. Since President Grant came in but nine persons in all connected in the remotest degree with him or with his wife, have held political office under the United States.

I have a list of them, and do not speak without information. Nine is the total number in political office. This does not include a son of the President sent as a pupil to West Point, long before his father became President; nor does it include his brother-in-law Dent, who has long held a commission in the army by the same tenure under which Sherman and Sheridan, and every other officer of the army holds his place, and which the President has no more power to give or take away than the moon in the moon.

Of the nine relatives or connections in office two were appointed by Andrew Johnson, viz: the President's father, postmaster at Covington, Ky., and his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Cramer, consul at Leipsic. Mr. Cramer was transferred from Leipsic to Denmark by President Grant, on the recommendation of Bishop Simpson, Bishop Jayne, and many other well-known persons, friends of Mr. Cramer. Being the brother-in-law of the President, he of course became a mark for "liberal" abuse, and was charged with drinking beer and being refused membership of a social club.

But now comes the Cincinnati Methodist Conference, about as respectable a body as has met in Cincinnati lately, and certifies, after full investigation, the utter falsity of the charges. Their report is fortified by letters from Copenhagen, and by statements of the official journal and other newspapers there, indignantly repelling the aspersions cast at Mr. Cramer, and pronouncing him a blameless officer and man.

Deducting Jesse R. Grant and M. J. Cramer, appointed by Johnson, seven instances of relatives in political office remain, and of those but two were in truth and in fact appointed by the President, as I will show you.

Orlando H. Ross, a cousin of the President, holds a clerkship under the Third Auditor of the Treasury. He was a soldier in the war, and General Logan, as he stated in the Senate, procured his appointment at the Treasury Department without the knowledge of the President, who, in fact, never heard of it until he read it in a newspaper. This leaves six, and of these four hold local offices, viz: George W. Dent, appraiser at San Francisco; James F. Casey, collector at New Orleans, one a brother, and the other a brother-in-law of Mrs. Grant; Peter Casey, postmaster at Vicksburg, Miss., a brother of a brother-in-law of Mrs. Grant; and George B. Johnson, assessor of the third district of Ohio, who married a third cousin of the President. These men hold local offices and were selected and put forward, as has been universal in both political parties of fifty years, by the local representatives.

When the member of Congress from a district certifies the character of an applicant for a post office, or any other office local in

his district, and recommends his selection, the practice of the Government has always been to rely and act upon such representations, holding the member of Congress responsible to the Government and to his constituents, if he obtains unfit appointments.

It was in this way that the four persons just named were selected, the President having no part in the matter, if he believed the applicants fit and worthy, except to consult the wishes of the people, made known through their representatives, or else to overrule their wishes, upon the ground that it might be better for himself not to run the risk of having the matter some time or other flung in his face.

Two appointments remain, and upon these the President did undoubtedly exercise his own choice, and his own judgment.

The first is Alexander Sharp, a connection of Mrs. Grant, who was appointed Marshal of the District of Columbia. This officer is virtually a member of the President's household. He receives company with the family, introduces visitors, and generally helps along. For these reasons some relative or near friend of the President's family has always been found for this position.

The remaining relative is Silas Hudson, Minister to Guatemala. He is cousin to the President. Iowa, the State in which he lives, had the mission to Guatemala before President Grant came in. Fitz Henry Warren held it, and on his retirement Iowa claimed it still, and presented Mr. Hudson, who is described as an able and accomplished man. The President might have refused to appoint him, without giving just offense to the Republicans of Iowa, because he might have taken a man from some other State, but he did appoint him and thus he furnished the needy "Liberals" with one awful example.

APPOINTMENTS TO OFFICE—NEW YORK APPOINTMENTS.

But the President's selections for office generally have, we are told, been partisan, personal, and ill-judged. I believe the reverse of all this is true. He has appointed more judges than any of his predecessors were called upon to select, and his selections are such as to vindicate him from the charge of making personal preference or gratification of himself the criterion. When he came to select our members of the Geneva Board he named Mr. Adams, whom he had never seen, and who was neither his partisan nor his friend. As counsel before that high tribunal he selected Mr. Evarts, who was not his partisan, and Mr. Curtis, and Mr. Cushing, who were political opponents. What Democratic President ever did the like? Other cases might be cited to show how unselfish and conscientious he has been.

In the State of New York there was no complaint about appointments as long as particular men were permitted to dictate them.

The hungry "Reformers" of to-day fatigued and exulted then. It was, in their estimation, high merit and statesmanship for Senators and others to crouch and prowlday and night around the sources of power. No

one overreached this thriving business; it overreached itself.

"PATRONAGE" AND REMOVALS.

The course of Mr. Greeley and its reference to patronage and spoils is visible in a letter he wrote to Mr. Cornell after he made up his mind to defeat, if possible, the weeding out of Tammany men from the Republican organization. Here is his letter, putting his action squarely on the ground of dissatisfaction with the "appointing power."

NEW YORK, April 9, 1871.

DEAR SIR: It gives me no pleasure to advise you, and the committee of which you are the head, that I am obliged to decline the part assigned me by the State Committee in the proposed reorganization of the Republican party of our city. *Had a little forbearance and conciliation been exercised by the appointing power at Washington, I think this might have been different.* Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

The sapping and mining begun in 1870, and secretly continued ever since, has culminated in the bolt no longer covered up, which has recently occurred; its strength was in its secrecy and in its denied existence; its weakness is in its being known of all men.

It has been said that the President removed friends of Mr. Fenton; if this were true, when made an explanation of the betrayal or desertion of the party, it sinks those who resort to it to the lowest depth of sordid hypocrisy. But it is not true. One friend of Mr. Fenton was removed to gratify Mr. Moses H. Grinnell, and in no other instance to my knowledge was a friend of Mr. Fenton's displaced, except for cause; while to this day the great body of those he recommended to office remain in office still. To illustrate this, since President Grant came in not six post-masters in the entire State have been appointed at my instance; more than two hundred have been appointed at Senator Fenton's instance, and not one has been disturbed unless for official delinquency.

COLLECTOR MURPHY.

Mr. Murphy was appointed Collector of New York, but not to gratify me, or at my solicitation. He has been held up as a scoundrel, yet the records conclusively prove that he increased the collection of revenue and diminished the percentage of cost. No act of dishonesty has, to my knowledge, ever been proved against him. I moved and insisted upon the investigation which was lately made of the custom house—the inquiry was conducted by some of the best and ablest members of the Senate, and the report acquits Mr. Murphy of every charge impairing his integrity. I do not allude to the matter, however, to go into Mr. Murphy's merits; I did not suggest his appointment, and during his collectorship I never asked or recommended an appointment at his hands, not one. My object is to show you the wickedness of the charge that the President appointed Mr. Murphy contrary to the judgment of the best men in the party, and for some unusual or improper reason.

Mr. Murphy was an experienced, success-

ful business man, at leisure, and vigorous enough to endure the great strain and labor of the place. If the President was wrong in selecting him, let me show you who else were wrong.

Here are some of those who, in writing, recommended his nomination or confirmation. Their signatures are in my possession:

Elwin D. Morgan, George Opdyke, Henry Cluws, John A. Griswold, Chas. J. Folger, Edwards Pierrepont, John C. Churchill, M. C., Orange Ferriss, M. C., Hamilton Ward, M. C., Giles W. Hotchkiss, M. C., David S. Bennett, M. C., Wm. A. Whitbeck, Edward Haight, George Bliss, Jr., Spofford Brothers & Co., John Hoey, Isaac Dayton, George D. Morgan, Thomas B. Van Buren, John H. Hall, and fifty-six other prominent business men of New York city; the Republican General Committee of Kings county, New York, and residents of Brooklyn, New York, 110 in number; E. W. Leavenworth and others, residents of Syracuse. Besides these many others recommended Mr. Murphy's appointment.

You will, I trust, pardon the time given to these facts; if it were right to detain you many others might be stated, showing the injustice and falsehood which have been piled upon the President and upon me in this regard. The whole pretense that the friends of Governor Fenton were ever ostracised because they were his friends, is the veriest sham that could be palmed off upon the public; and yet the argument of spoils is used without a blush to extenuate the acts of those who, for two years, have been plotting the destruction of the party.

MR. SUMNER AND MR. GREELEY HATE "PRETENSION."

It is as untruthful as the pretense that the "President is a quarreler," that he insisted upon a renomination or that he is a pretentious man. The President is charged with "pretension" by Mr. Sumner in a speech written and printed beforehand, in which Mr. Sumner speaks of himself, and praises himself one hundred and fifty-six times, and flatters himself thoroughly and copiously twenty times. But Sumner is nothing to Greeley. Greeley thinks Grant "pretentious" too, and Greeley, at the Boston Jubilee, in explaining his own fitness for the Presidency, modestly spoke of himself twenty times in ten minutes—this is twice a minute. Had Sumner used the personal pronoun at the same rate, no printing office would have had big P's enough to set up the speech.

THE "MILITARY RING."

But we may not stop here in counting the President's crimes; he has, we are told, a "military ring" at the White House, and turns the White House into a "military barracks." When he moved into the White House, he heard soldiers patrolling in the hall, and when he asked them what it meant, they said they were President Johnson's body guard, he told them he wanted no guard, and sent them to their quarters. The next day he gave orders removing all troops from Washington, and not a military company has ever been there since.

The "military ring" consists of three young men who write for the President without a farthing of expense to the Treasury. The President is authorized by law to employ and pay secretaries. The gentlemen who assist him were on his staff in the war, and are now on the staff of General Sherman; their commissions are their own; the President can not take them away; and now, in time of peace, General Sherman does not require their services. One of them is detailed to oversee the public parks, and the other two assist the President, which they do from love of the man, and without a cent of pay beyond what they would draw if they sat at General Sherman's headquarters doing nothing. This is the whole of it; exactly like the case of Colonel Bliss and his father-in-law, President Taylor, or the case of Donaldson and Jackson, or the case of Andrew Johnson and the three or four army officers who assisted him. It saves several thousand dollars a year, does the public business, and nobody is harmed.

"SEASIDE LOITERINGS."

The catalogue of the President's atrocities would be incomplete without one other thing. During ten or twelve weeks of heat and fever and ague at Washington, his family go to a cottage at the seaside, and he goes and comes from there to the Capital.

It is eight hours from the White House to the cottage, with two mails a day and a telegraph every instant. Nothing can occur, however suddenly, demanding his attention without his being within immediate call; yet this is the occasion of constant hullabaloo. Governor Hoffman leaves his State and resides at Newport, R. I., for the summer. Mr. James Brooks, though member of Congress, goes to China and Japan, not returning even when Congress meets. General Jackson used to spend weeks at the Rip Raps in Hampton Roads, where no intelligence could reach him from Washington in days, and then only by special messenger, and whence he could not return for days, if sent for. No telegraph, railroad, daily mail, or even steamboat plied there then. President Adams, separated from Massachusetts by a stage-coach ride of many days, used to spend weeks at his home, Washington, passed much time at Mount Vernon, and even that was further removed in communicating with the Capital than Long Branch is now.

* * * * *

The public, however, will be satisfied with one fact, *viz.*: that no instance has yet been discovered or pretended in which anything, however small, was neglected or left undone because the President was absent. This one fact answers a hurricane of abuse.

I have discussed, perhaps at inexcusable length, the silly and personal slanders dragged into the campaign, and yet nothing has been said of the blameless, simple, daily life of the President, nor of his innocence of a quarrelsome disposition.

He quarreled with Lee, and every other rebel while rebellion lasted. He settled that quarrel, and has never quarreled since, unless it be quarreling not to obey intolerable directions, and simply to let alone men who oppose and denounce him.

Let us turn from the man to the Magistrate, and scan his official record and stewardship.

WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE— FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

What has the Administration done in three years? First, it has maintained our rights with every foreign Power, and kept the peace with all the world. Governor Seward said to me last year after he had girded the earth with his ~~teeths~~: "How remarkable is our success in foreign affairs; but two years ago Russia was our only friend in Christendom, and now America has not an enemy in the world." He proceeded to say, that this good result came from the temperate and just course of our Government. Mr. Sumner has lately told us that we are in a "muddle with everybody." Can any of you tell with whom we are in a "muddle"? Can any of you name a sea, a continent, or an island where our flag is not respected? Can any of you name a commercial center in which our securities are not sought? Can any of you name a Power which denies a right to one American citizen? Spain's release of Dr. Howard, whose American citizenship is very doubtful, leaves no controversy, no contested matter, with any Power on earth, save England.

With England preceding Administrations failed to settle several large and dangerous questions. This Administration has composed them all in one treaty, applauded by the country and the world as one of the best products of statesmanship and civilization. Recently a difference arose as to the construction of the treaty, and England was unwilling and afraid to submit the question to the tribunal to which it plainly belonged. The British Government took the ground that they had agreed to a treaty which did not contain what they intended; that their meaning was not set down in language so plain that they were willing to trust it to the arbitration at Geneva; and they insisted that we should withdraw part of our claims. This was a strange position, and involved a humiliating admission; it was styling virtually that their agents had not been able to cope with ours. Indeed, this was said without disguise and with taunts in the British Parliament. There is nothing here surely to wound American pride.

England's refusal to go to trial, unless we would agree not to prove or argue part of our case, was met on our side by the statement that we insisted upon having the law settled for the future in regard to indirect damages so called.

Our Government insisted that hereafter England should never demand any damages from us, except such as she admitted to be within the law of nations *now*. Upon this ground the President declined to withdraw any of our claims, saying, however, that indirect losses would not be pressed, provided by agreement between the parties, or by a decision of the Court we could be guaranteed for the future against similar demands. No

gations ensued, resulting in a supplemental article or clause of the treaty, and before this was finally accepted the Tribunal at Geneva did, what we all the while maintained, its right to do, and made a decision good for the future as well as the present, and good for us as well as for England, denying the right of one nation to recover certain kinds of damage from another. By this rule we will settle with England as often as she is a belligerent and we a neutral; and if she is content, we should be. We are to be the neutral hereafter, we shall have no more rebellions, no foreign Power will be impatient to get up a war with us; but England, differently situated, with her elbows hitting the elbows of other nations, may not be so fortunate; and when her commerce and her cause suffers from American citizens, or from cruisers or privateers built in America, we will measure to her the rule of damages she asks for now. Whether England keeps or breaks the treaty, it will remain the greatest event of diplomacy in our history. Had Hamilton Fish rendered no other public service in his life, his ability, devotion, and success in this great matter would inscribe his name high up on the roll of illustrious names. The only error pretended in the management of the Alabama claims has been the maintenance of views of which the noisiest advocate always has been Mr. Sumner; but even he has not succeeded in producing a "middle" with any foreign Power, not even with the aid of his friend Schurz, by his romances and vagaries, touching the sale by American merchants of arms to France.

WHAT HAS THE ADMINISTRATION TO DO WITH PAYING THE DEBT?

From Washington down, every Administration has been tried by its financial results. But now we hear that the authorities deserve no credit for paying the debt, that the people have paid it. Of course, the people have paid it, but who has honestly collected and accounted for the money? Who has reduced the expenses? Who has upheld the public credit? Who has cheapened the interest? Who has wisely applied the money? Who has made the greenback in your pocket, that used to be worth only $\frac{1}{2}$? If its face, almost as good as gold? The people paid taxes under Andrew Johnson twice as great as they pay now. Why was not twice as much of the debt paid then? Why was only \$13,000,000 of the debt paid then with extravagance taxation? Under Andrew Johnson, the whisky ring, the contractors, and other "Liberals," preyed upon the revenue so, that it is calculated one-quarter of the whole was lost. Under the present Administration, after taxes were lessened \$84,000,000 a year, collections increased \$84,000,000. Did the people do that?

If one of your agents made a given amount of money go twice as far as an agent before him had done, would it be you, or the agent, to be credited or blamed?

But look a little further. The expenses everywhere have been reduced, and so reduced that they are less per capita this year

than they were under Washington, and less than they were under any Administration since, with only four exceptions, and in case of these four the advantage is only apparent and but a few cents. Compare the year 1860, under Buchanan, with last year, 1871. In 1860, the population being 31,443,321, the expenses were \$1.95 for each person; 1871, population 33,555,983, expenses \$1.76 for each person. There is one great difference between these two years not shown by the figures.

In 1860 the whole amount expended for public buildings, improvements of rivers and harbors, and other public works throughout the country, was only \$2,913,371.48.

In 1871 such public improvements were made and paid for, to the amount of \$10,733,759.05.

If allowance be made for these lasting improvements, greater during the last two years than before, the actual cost per head of governing the country under Grant is as small as it ever was since the foundation of the Government.

In 1858 the War Department cost \$25,679, 121.63. In 1859 it cost \$23,154,720.53.

In 1860, under Floyd, the accounts of the Department were not closed, but went over in part to Lincoln's administration.

In 1871 the War Department cost \$22,376, 981.28.

Taking the whole running expenses of the Government, for the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, including the army and navy, and foreign ministers, consuls, and agents, the cost in 1860 was \$61,402,408.64.

The same account in 1871 was \$68,684, 613.92.

With new States and Territories, with seven millions more population, with new courts, and the internal revenue establishment, the whole excess of cost in 1871 over 1860, was \$7,282,205.28.

Here is an increase of thirteen per cent. of cost, with an increase of twenty-five per cent. of population, saying nothing of increased demands.

The "Reformers" had not looked up these figures when Mr. Trumbull stated, at the Cooper Institute, that the expenses of the Government, aside from interest and pensions, ought to be not more than thirty-three per cent. greater now than before the war; it turns out that the increase is only about one-third as much as he thinks it should be.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

During the present year large additional reductions are to come; internal revenue districts are to be reduced to eighty in all; supervisors of revenue to ten in all; deputies and assistants will vanish with the taxes they heretofore collected, and only a skeleton of the revenue establishment will be left. Four millions and a half will be saved this year in the cost of conducting the Internal Revenue Bureau.

The Freedmen's Bureau, established by Lincoln and Stanton, and Sherman and Howard, and vetoed by Andrew Johnson, which has cost much money and done much good, is this year to be finally wound up.

These things, added to the pruning which the army and navy and Indian and revenue services have undergone, make this the best Administration in civil service reform the country ever had. In civil service reform Grant is the pioneer President. No one before him inaugurated or proposed it. * * * In three messages the President has urged civil service reform and has given it his whole influence.

* * * * *

Remorseless rigor has ferreted out and punished delinquents and defaulters. Most of them have not been men appointed by Grant, but those whose crimes began under past Administrations; some of them have been men recommended by "Reformers," now mouthing about bad appointments; but wherever found they have been caught, if possible, and when caught nothing has protected them.

DEFALTERS DETECTED AND PUNISHED.

Hodge, a paymaster and a Democrat in politics, embezzled for years, under Andrew Johnson, but was never detected till after Grant came in; then he was hurried to a penitentiary. Norton, Money-order Superintendent in the New York post office, began his depredations under Andrew Johnson, and took more than \$30,000, but was never found out until last year; then he was arrested, and it turned out that Horace Greeley was liable as bondsman. A prosecution is in progress, and if Mr. Greeley shouldn't happen to be elected he will be obliged to pay up—the amount is \$115,428 71 and interest. It is upon such facts as these that "Reformers" and other Democrats make hue and cry about defalcations under General Grant. Will any of you name the Democratic official thief that was ever punished by Democrats?

The city of New York has swarmed with plunderers, from the big "Boss" to the little wiggler of Tammany Hall; they are all Democrats, and their guilt of stealing tens of millions has been notorious for more than a year. Governor, judges, district attorney, sheriff, police, all are Democrats, but not a thief has been punished nor a stolen dollar recovered back. All these thieves are for Greeley; they all shout for Greeley and "reform," and all curse Grant.

If any man will show me an instance of an office-holder who, after he was known to have stolen a farthing, was kept in office or protected by Grant, I will agree never to vote for Grant, although I wouldn't vote for Greeley, because I wouldn't jump from the frying-pan into the fire.

The homestead policy has been extended so as to give a hundred and sixty acres of land to every soldier and sailor who served for ninety days and was honorably discharged.

American ship-building has received the first real encouragement for years. By the recent tariff act all materials for ship-building will, by means of drawback, come in duty free, and thus American ship yards will be enabled to compete, as to materials, with the ship yards of the world.

"CENTRALISM"—HOW CONGRESS HAS CENTRALIZED.

American citizens, high and low, rich and poor, black and white, whether in Spain, on the high seas, or in the South, have been protected. But this is called "centralism." Every civilized government may protect its citizens in the uttermost ends of the earth, but when the United States interposes to check murders, and burnings, and barbarities at which humanity shudders, perpetrated by thousands, and overruling all local authority, it is suddenly discovered that we are in danger of "centralism." This discovery is made by Mr. Greeley and the very men who cried the loudest for the Ku Klux law. Here are Greeley's words, spoken June 12, 1871, after he came back from the South:

"I hold our Government, bound by the duty of protecting our citizens in their fundamental rights, to pass and enforce laws for the extirpation of the execrable Ku Klux conspiracy; and if it has not the power to do it, then I say our Government is no Government, but a sham. *Therefore on every proper occasion advocate and justify the Ku Klux act. I hold it especially desirable for the South; and if it does not prove strong enough to effect its purpose, I hope it will be made stronger and stronger.*"

The law here spoken of is the law exactly as it exists to-day, including the *habeas corpus* suspension, which has now expired by its own limitation.

No other act of "centralism" has been enacted of late, unless it is an amendment of the election law, vehemently demanded and approved by Mr. Greeley. Here what he said about it only a few months ago.

"It is urged by the Democratic organs that the law is to be enforced in State and municipal elections. This is done to make it more obnoxious, if that be possible, to their party. *But, unfortunately, this is an error. The law applies only to Presidential and Congressional elections, THOUGH WE HEARTILY WISH IT COULD BE MADE TO APPLY TO ALL OTHERS.*"

The "centralism" of this law consists in allowing the courts, upon the application of ten citizens, to appoint two persons, one from each political party, to watch the polls at which members of Congress and presidential electors are to be chosen. These watchers have no power to arrest any one or to do anything except to look on as witnesses and see whether fraud takes place—and this without a farthing of compensation or expense. Do you think any honest voter will be offended by this? Will any honest man object to so harmless a safeguard against fraudulent voting and fraudulent counting?

REAL DANGERS ARE STATE RIGHTS AND REBEL CLAIMS.

No, my friends, the cry of "centralism" is a mere fetch. The real danger is the other way. Decentralization, which means State rights in the old pestilent secession sense, is the real danger. You need to stand guard against the doctrine of paramount State sovereignty which ushered in rebellion, and which, if it gain head, will usher in the pay-

most of the rebel debt, the payment of rebel pensions, the payment of losses from the ravages of the war, and a brood of dire heresies.

This is no dilemma. Democrats and "Reformers" struck hands, at the last session, in admitting rebels to the Court of Claims, to recover for their cotton captured in the war; and every Democrat, with most of the new converts in the Senate, voted to pay from the Treasury rebel claimants, for carrying the mail in the Southern States after they went into rebellion; an act which Republicans prevented after a weary contest.

"Centralism" is a mere goblin. Whenever Congress transcends the Constitution, the Court will so decide, and the people will apply the corrective. But watch you, and pray to be delivered from that dogma of State independence which once drenched the land in blood and covered it with taxes and with mourning. All the "Centralism" we have now is a strong and stable Government, under which the nation prospers, with safety to property, labor, liberty, and life. Woe to the day, and woe to the hour, when the people change it off, tor, they know not what.

CANT ABOUT INVESTIGATIONS.

With some minds the greater the humbug, the greater the sensation. The country is filled with factional outcry, and one of the catch-words is "investigations." "Reformers" in the Senate wasted weeks and months in attempting to mislead the public in this respect. It was brazenly pretended that men like Buckingham, of Connecticut, and Hamlin, of Maine, and Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and Howe, of Wisconsin, and Anthony, of Rhode Island, and others of the best and purest statesmen of the nation, attempted to cloak fraud and stifle inquiry. The New York *Tribune* and other unprincipled newspapers published pretended speeches which were never made, put into the mouths of Administration Senators, as uttered in caucus, by myself among others, declaring that the Administration should not be investigated. Nothing could be more false. No friend of the Administration ever objected to the most searching and sweeping investigation, but always the contrary. The only men who thwarted or delayed investigation were our opponents. They did, as I will show you.

We urged that one committee could not investigate everything, and that to make the work thorough it must be parcelled out to different committees. This was met with a storm of electioneering flings and insinuations, which consumed days. Finally, to bring the matter to an end, we acquiesced in having a single committee, to which all investigations should go. Every man of sense must see that if the object was full and speedy inquiry this was not the way, and so the event proved.

When the committee was raised I moved an investigation of the New York custom house. Mr. Trumbull passionately objected, and threw the resolution over by a point of order. As soon as a majority could do so it was taken up and passed. The Hodge resolution followed, and other resolutions, and

what was the result? The committee, thus overloaded, was able to complete only the custom house inquiry, and this showed under everything else. The Hodge matter and other things wait; and when the presidential election is over, and there is nothing to be made by trap and bancombe, we shall be permitted probably to refer them to appropriate committees. When the French-arms resolution was offered by Mr. Sumner, the Republican Senators offered to vote the investigation instantly, but Mr. Sumner objected, and asked its postponement. When he moved it again all other business was at once laid aside, and again the majority offered to vote for the inquiry. But Mr. Sumner insisted upon speech-making, and he and Schurz went at it, attempting to prove in advance all the dismal rigmarole of a false and foolish preamble.

Of course, their speeches could not go unanswered to the country, lest silence should seem to give consent; and so days and weeks were wasted when in five minutes the pretended object could have been accomplished. The pretended object was not the real object, as everybody knew; the aim was political effect, and for this the "Reformers" would besmirch the Government, even though the crusade disgraced us, or involved us with foreign powers.

The result, as you know, was ruinous to those who began it. The French-arms investigation is a fair sample of the rest. We had in all, in the two Houses, fourteen committees set on the Administration. Such a thing was never heard of before. No Administration was ever so put under a microscope, or pried into with malicious eyes. What did it all amount to? Directly and indirectly these investigations probably cost, in time, money, and neglect of legislation, millions of dollars—and who is benefited? Nobody but the Administration they were intending to destroy.

KU KLUX DOINGS.

The only investigation of value related to the condition of the South. The Committee on Southern Outrages made a report full of frightful lessons. In ten States an organization exists known as the "Ku Klux Klan," or "Invisible Empire of the South." It is a resurrection of the remains of the rebel army, General Forrest, of Fort Pillow, was its chief head, or "Grand Cyclops." It is a secret oath-bound band. Its object is to kill and drive out "Radicals" and "carpet-baggers," and to intimidate the blacks from voting against the Democratic party. Speaking to those who have not read the evidence, the existence, the nature, and the deeds of these assassins are so incredible that I dare not ask you to accept them on my word. Let me state a few things contained in the report, and proved by much testimony.

General Forrest admits his belief that the order is 500,000 strong. In the two Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, one hundred counties have been kept under a reign of terror. One of the obligations of membership is to commit perjury as a witness or a juror. Many leading wealthy

men are among the actors, and until Congress interfered the State authorities were powerless, or unwilling to enforce the laws; barbarous atrocities occurred nightly, but no one was punished or even arrested. Whites and blacks were murdered and robbed, their houses burned, and nameless deeds done by disguised bands.

In fourteen counties in North Carolina eighteen murders were done, and three hundred and fifteen whippings occurred. In nine counties in South Carolina forty murders and over two thousand other outrages. In twenty-nine counties of Georgia seventy-two murders and one hundred and twenty-six whippings. In twenty-six counties of Alabama two hundred and fifteen murders and one hundred and sixteen other outrages. In twenty counties of Mississippi twenty-three murders and seventy-six other outrages, and in a single county of Florida one hundred and fifty-three murders. In these ninety-nine counties 426 murders were done, and 2,969 other acts of violence.

The object in all this, as extorted from many witnesses, was "to put down Radical rule and negro suffrage." Thus scourged, the people of the South piteously appealed to Congress for protection. A committee was sent to the Southern States to learn the facts, and a law was passed authorizing the United States courts to act in the matter. The same law authorized the suspension, for a limited space, of the *habeas corpus*, in case it should be necessary. Under this act of Congress, at the January term of court in South Carolina, 501 men were indicted by the grand jury for these crimes of violence. In the northern district of Mississippi 490 were indicted, and in the southern district of Mississippi 152. In North Carolina 981 men were indicted.

In South Carolina five of these culprits were immediately tried and convicted, and fifty-three of them pleaded guilty. At the next term others were tried, and many more pleaded guilty. In the other States the courts are at work meting out justice. These are the offenders in whose behalf Wade Hampton and others raised money and employed counsel.

Reverdy Johnson and Henry Stanbery were the counsels, and I read a passage from Mr. Johnson's argument to the jury:

"But Mr. Attorney General has remarked, and would have you suppose, that my friend and myself are here to defend, to justify, or to palliate the outrages that may have been perpetrated in your State by this association of Ku Klux. He makes a great mistake as to both of us. *I have listened with unmixed horror to some of the testimony which has been brought before you.* 'The outrages are shocking to humanity; they admit of neither excuse or justification; they violate every obligation which law and nature impose upon man; they show that the parties engaged were brutes, insensible to the obligation of humanity and religion.'

The action of Congress and the President has put an end to much of this bloody business; but stopping murder is called "centralism," and we are being stoned for that.

SOUTHERN STATE GOVERNMENTS—AMNESTY.

The South has been for years a fertile field for electioneering sensation. The State governments in some of the Southern States have been weak and bad, and the "Liberals" want to try us for that. What have we to do with it? Why, they say we imposed political disabilities on the rebels. Who imposed political disabilities on rebels? We are told the people pay the debt, but we never hear that the people imposed the disabilities; yet they did. The fourteenth amendment of the Constitution, ratified by the Legislatures of three-quarters of the States, is the disability under which rebels have been. That amendment does not touch the right to vote, but leaves every rebel a voter. It touches only the right to hold office. It provides that the men who took an oath to support the Constitution and then fought against it, thus adding perjury to treason, shall not hold office; and it further provides that Congress, by a two-thirds vote, may relieve them. It is foolish to pretend, all being allowed to vote, that the majority could not rule; it is absurd to pretend that the few rebels, who were perfidious as well as traitors, were the only fit men to elect State officers and legislators. It follows that the fourteenth amendment is not the cause of bad men being elected to office in the Southern States. The truth is, as was abundantly proved before the KKKlux Committee, that capable, educated men, eligible to office, refused to accept it, and refused to vote, all for the purpose of frustrating reconstruction in the South, and making it odious.

Amnesty or want of amnesty had nothing to do with jobs in Southern Legislatures any more than in our own. No man has ever asked to be relieved who has not been relieved promptly. Indeed, history has no instance of such forbearance and mercy as has been granted to the ring-leaders of rebellion.

Not one was ever visited with the death penalty, except being barred from office, for committing perjury as well as treason, and bills for relief began at once, and all who asked soon received forgiveness. Whether a general act, naming no one, but covering rebels in a body, was a compliance with the fourteenth amendment, may well be doubted. Be this as it may, the President recommended, and Congress on the 21st of last May adopted, such an act. It would have passed weeks earlier, but that "Liberals," who pretended to be for a "civil rights bill" by itself, voted avowedly to make it as obnoxious as possible, and then, when it became part of the amnesty bill, some of them voted against it and others dodged; and this when two votes would have carried it. And now, when not more than one or two hundred men in the whole South are left ineligible to office, and these men who still defy and spurn the Constitution, we are gravely told that "amnesty" is a great issue before the American people.

Amnesty, as an issue, is as dead as the politicians who prate about it. It is about as vital as Mr. Sumner's published reason for

supporting Mr. Greeley, namely, that Greeley was born the same year that he was himself.

"Peace, good will toward men," have been for three years national watchwords. Even the old Indian scares have failed to bring on Indian wars, which were always contractors' wars. For the first time in our history an Indian peace policy has triumphed, massacres have been prevented, the whites and the Indians alike have been spared, and millions saved to the nation.

WHY CHANGE?—WHO ASKS IT?

Such is the Administration, and such the stable prosperity and the wholesome condition of things, at home and abroad, which we are asked to trade off for we know not what. To suppose it will be done would be to brand free government as a failure, and to insult the sense of the American people.

What is the change offered us? Does anybody know? When did the necessity for any change arise?

Certainly not when in September, 1870, Mr. Greeley called the Reform movement "a conspiracy to destroy the Republican party;" not in September, 1871, when Mr. Greeley drew resolutions fully endorsing the present Administration; not on the 5th of January, 1871, when in a speech Mr. Greeley said: "I venture to suggest that General Grant will be far better qualified for that momentous trust in 1872 than he was in 1868;" not when in February, 1871, Mr. Greeley said that a defeat of the Republican party in the nation would be a "disgrace and humiliation," not only a year ago when Mr. Greeley said:

"When a Republican Convention, fairly chosen after free consultation and the frank interchange of opinion, shall have nominated Republican candidates for President and Vice President, we shall expect to urge all Republicans to give them a hearty, effective support, whether they be or be not of those whose original preference has been gratified."

Not on the 25th of April, 1871, when Mr. Greeley placed his hostility to President Grant squarely and solely on the ground of certain appointments in the city of New York.

Who were the discoverers of the need of a change? Who called the "Cincinnati Convention?" Did the business men of the country call it? Did the public-spirited, the unselfish, and the patriotic call it? Every one knows that it was the work of the political "scouts." A few respectable men were drawn in, but the great body of the movers were, as Greeley used to say of the Democrats, "the very scum" of polities.

Nearly every man whose name appeared was either a disappointed office-seeker, a man with a grievance, or a man with a bad character.

There is an effrontery bordering on the sublime in professional corruption, the worst and most notorious, starting up to berate honest people. From such effrontery came a convention, which from beginning to end, was managed to cheat and defraud the respectable men who were drawn into it and the public generally. That the nomination was bartered and borrowed through we are assured

by the best who were present; and now the Democratic party has died by its own hand, and gone for eternal punishment to Horace Greeley.

MR. GREELEY AND HIS "CLAIMS."

An examination of the fitness of Mr. Greeley, and his claims to public confidence, is the duty of every citizen. That he has shown great talent as an editor and writer, all admit, but nearly all else claimed for him now, I deny. The very talents he has shown unfit him for the Presidency.

It is said that a great debt is due and unpaid by the Republican party to Mr. Greeley. The account stands very differently, as most persons understand it.

Does not Mr. Greeley owe much to the Republican party? That party gave him wealth, fame, and influence. His talent and industry were his own; but the *Tribune* was sustained as a party organ, and was made a mine of wealth by the Republican party. Who does not know that Republicans, whether private citizens or postmasters, or other "office-holders," or country editors, or committee-men, have made common cause for years for the *Tribune*, have organized clubs, pushed and begged for subscriptions, and made the *Tribune* what it was?

Who does not know that this year tens of thousands of Republicans paid their money in advance for the *Tribune*, while yet its clews were half concealed, holding itself out as a Republican paper, and that the money thus obtained by false pretense is kept to sustain the paper in its present gross and knavish course? Who does not know that the position given Mr. Greeley by the Republican party did more than all else to make sale of his book called the "American Conflict," which is said to have paid him more than a hundred thousand dollars? He sent canvassers to solicit subscribers for this book, and who subscribed, who paid him a fortune for his book? Was it the Democrats or the no-party men, or was it those to whom he says now "he owes nothing?"

It is true that Mr. Greeley has seldom been intrusted with office, though he has long sought office from the Whig and Republican parties. This, however, is simply from want of confidence in his practical judgment and consistency.

Prior to 1854 Mr. Greeley's extreme craving for office was not understood, and his letter to Governor Seward, November 11, 1854, dissolving the "political firm of Seward, Weed & Greeley" because office had not been given him, amazed the public.

In this letter, after referring to some of the offices he wanted from the Whig party, and upbraiding Governor Seward for not appointing him to some office in 1857, he says:

"Now came the great scramble of the swell-mob of coon minstrels and elder suckers at Washington, I not being counted in. Several regiments of them went over from this city; but no one of the whole crowd—though I say it who should not—had done so much toward General Harrison's nomination and election as yours respectively. I asked nothing, expected nothing; but you, Governor

Seward, ought to have asked that I be postmaster of New York.

* * * * *

"Let me speak of the same canvass. I was once sent to Congress for ninety days, merely to enable Jim Brooks to secure a seat therein for four years.

* * * * *

"But this last spring, after the Nebraska question had created a new state of things at the North, one or two personal friends, of no political consideration, suggested my name as a candidate for Governor, and I did not discourage them."

While he belonged to the Republican party Mr. Greeley was a candidate for Governor several times, for Senator, for Representative, and for other offices; always being defeated in the nomination or election, except when once chosen for a ninety-day term in Congress, when made Presidential elector in 1864, and when he ran for the constitutional convention under a law insuring his election without regard to the number of votes.

WHAT MR. GREELEY DID WHEN IN OFFICE.

The Republican party has been blamed for not gratifying Mr. Greeley's ambition for office, but the mass of the party, though appreciating his eccentric genius, has believed him erratic, and not possessed of the practical wisdom, moderation, or business capacity to make a useful or safe official. As often as he has been tried in public station he has failed. His brief career in Congress was a sad fiasco; he more than once excused his course by saying that he voted without understanding the question, and had voted as he did not mean to. (*Congressional Globe*, 1848-9, vol. 20, pp. 269, 336.) He involved himself in questions of veracity, which compelled him to retreat from his statements; and on one occasion was confronted on the floor by members who flatly testified to the untruthfulness of what he said. (*Globe*, as above.) Libels, published in his paper, subjected him to indignities, and even to worse embarrassments.

His course in the Constitutional Convention was a series of preevish attempts to assume everything and do everything, and resulted in his impatiently and prematurely quitting his post, after pouring upon members a volley of oaths. Even the task of acting as chairman of a local committee, last year, brought him into dilemmas and apparent breaches of his word which a man of common discretion would have avoided.

His affiliations with men have shown him a poor judge of human nature, and the ease with which the designing impose upon him has always excited the sympathy of his friends. The worst men have stuck to him and used him, with no more power on his part to shake them off than a ship has to shake off its barnacles. His management of every business, except editing a newspaper, has shown him wanting in business capacity; and as an editor he is always lacking a balance wheel to keep him from absurd inconsistencies.

His investments of money with the shiftless and the dishonest; his embarking in

ventures with Tweed, and lending his name to men unworthy of trust, can be excused only on the ground of want of sound judgment. His Fourierism and Agrarianism attest a mind given to vagaries like this; on one occasion he insisted that there could be no property in land, because property was the product of human labor, and that land, like air, belonged to God Almighty, and could not be owned by man.

Building a barn, where a barn could not stand, and was washed away, planting turnips where turnips could not grow, trying to substitute cabbages for tobacco, and then assuming to teach farmers in all the varying climates and soils of the continent, what to raise and how to plow, and when to hoe, can only pass as the grotesque and harmless antics of a man of oddities, flattered by many, and most of all by himself. "A jack of all trades is master of none," "and what he knows about farming," would show Mr. Greeley a universal genius, if it were not for what he could learn from those he assumes to teach.

The overweening confidence with which he holds his opinions, and the rude vehemence with which he utters them, make the suddenness with which he changes them the plainest proof of insincerity or unsoundness; while the epithets and libels with which he pursues those he hates or envies, shows a strangely unchristian and unbridled nature.

Mr. Greeley's own traits of character, as seen by his party associates, have made it better for him and for the public that he should not hold office, and when Andrew Johnson nominated him, after he killed Jefferson Davis, as Minister to Austria, rumor is greatly at fault if Senators who now support him, even all those who then belonged to the Republican party, could be induced to vote for his confirmation.

Truthful history will never record that when Horace Greeley deserted the Republican party for a President no one in it owed the party nothing; or that the party owed him a great and unpaid debt; or that the party was wrong in not selecting such a man for high public trusts. The verdict will be rather that he spoke like a sobering ingrate, when on the 12th of June, 1871, he said to a street audience, "I am perfectly willing to pass receipts with the Republican party, and say that our accounts are now settled and closed."

MR. GREELEY AS A POLITICIAN.

Eccentricity and fickleness are Mr. Greeley's traits; as a politician, he has bolted and advised bolting; he has opposed the nomination or election of every President who has been chosen for thirty years; he has quarreled with every Administration; he has assailed the character of those he differed with, wantonly and savagely; he has imputed corruption to others merely for not voting or thinking as he did; he sought by intrigue the defeat of Mr. Lincoln after he was nominated the second time, and as late as September 2, 1864, wrote secret letters, which have since come to light, to the members of the Senate to prevent Lincoln's election; he strove to poison Presi-

dent Grant against capable and honest Republicans, and advised him to exclude from his councils men trusted in public affairs; he has recommended unfit men for office, and insisted on their appointment; after endorsing and applauding everything involving principle or relating to the public interest done by the Administration, he has struck at the President on account of "patronage," and bolted the party, after manoeuvring more than a year to get its nomination.

On the 4th of May, 1871, he wrote William Larimore, who had inquired whether he would be a candidate for President before the Republican Convention this year, "I fully propose also never to decline any duty or responsibility which my political friends see fit to devolve upon me;" and having thus put himself in the field, he started for the South to make speeches, in one of which he asserted over again the right of secession, and in another hoped for the time when his countrymen would feel pride in Lee and Stonewall Jackson.

He apologized for Tammany robbers, enjoying from them at the same time an immense advertising patronage, and blocking the wheels of reform after the Tammany frauds were known to the whole nation; he colluded with men known to be in the interest of Tammany Hall, and whom he had previously so branded himself, to prevent the Republican party being purged of Tammany influence; for two years before his open desertion he sought to divide and destroy the Republican party of New York, and traduced many upright men because of their resistance to the domination of corruptionists; and finally, in signing the call for the Cincinnati Convention, which adopted the Free-trade Missouri platform, he turned his back on the only political principle or idea prominent for the last ten years, of which he had not before been on both sides.

CONCLUSION.

Yet in the blind-staggers of faction the American people are challenged to scan and decide upon this record.

Such a coalition, and such a nomination, in chaos and disorder.

"Liberal Republican" movements have been tried in other States, and, until the results were felt, they succeeded. They tried in Virginia nominating a Republican for Governor, on a bargain with the Democrats. Many Republicans were entrapped, and Virginia is cursed with a rule which the best Democrats are ashamed of.

They tried in West Virginia a fusion between "outs" and Democrats, and now West Virginia holds debate in her Constitutional Convention on the question of nullifying the Constitution of the United States and depriving the blacks of the right to vote. They tried in Tennessee a movement of bolters and Democrats, and the result is the destruction of common schools, in which 190,000 children were cultured.

They tried the experiment in Missouri, and the fruit it bore is a Democratic State government and Frank Blair in the Senate.

In all these cases one side or the other was cheated and the public interest was harmed, and now it is proposed to attempt the same thing on a national scale.

No wonder that leading Democratic journals and large bodies of Democrats refuse to be parties to such chicanery, and no wonder that it draws to itself, as no other movement ever did, the very worst elements, North and South.

The issue stands before you. On the one side is safe, tried, and stable government; peace with all nations and prosperity at home, with business thriving and debt and taxes melting away.

On the other side is a hybrid conglomeration made up of the crochets, distempers, and personal aims of restless and disappointed men. What ills might come of committing to them the affairs of the nation no judgment can fathom, no prophecy can foretell.

The result is very safe, because it rests with the same generation which was given by Providence to see through the darkness of the rebellion, and that generation can not be blind now.



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